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manpower

january 1974

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

How to Succeed at JOBS by Really Trying

manpower
volume 6 number 1
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

In this issue . . .

"What seems to be emerging from our recent concentrated attention on the hard core is a realization that rather than devise special treatment for them, we really need to be applying the same enlightened practices to our whole work force."—Page 3

"Our traditional approach to leisure is inadequate. Many retired people don't know what to do with themselves. After all, how long can you visit the children?"—Page 23

Any discussion of work and its place in our society must consider the charge that the educational system has encouraged a false worship of the baccalaureate degree and overemphasis on college preparation—with attendant depreciation of the value of work that does not require college.—Page 17

"This is very creative work. I feel good every time I pick up my tools."—Page 27

Of the 2,575 full-time nonsales jobs listed, only 183 had no educational or experience prerequisites; only 171 other vacancies required modest credentials.—Page 12

Subscription price raised

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The Government Printing Office, which handles printing and distribution of *Manpower* and all other U.S. Government publications, is placing the higher prices into effect to cover increasing costs of its operations, including higher postage rates.

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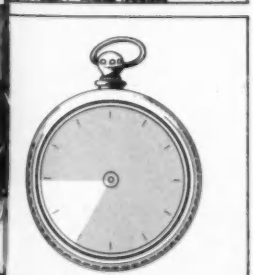

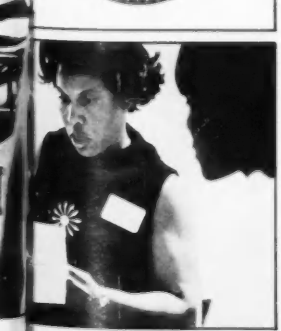

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MANPOWER Magazine is the official monthly journal of the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor. It is distributed without charge to personnel of the national and regional Manpower Administration offices and, by special arrangement, to State employment security agencies. It is also available on subscription at $15.30 a year (single copies $1.30) from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. In countries other than the United States, Canada, and Mexico, annual subscription is $19.15. The Secretary of Labor has determined that the publication of this periodical is necessary in the transaction of the public business required by law of this Department. Use of funds for printing this periodical has been approved by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget through June 30, 1975.

Expressions of opinions in articles by authors do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Department of Labor. Correspondence regarding articles should be addressed to the Editor, MANPOWER Magazine, Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20213.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS: Send new address, including ZIP code, to Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Please also include old address label from MANPOWER.

How to Succeed at JOBS by Really Trying

by Philip Mason

Companies Tell Their Experiences In Training Disadvantaged Workers

When General Electric decided to hire and train severely disadvantaged people for jobs as electronic technician associates, some of the company's supervisors posed a major problem. The difficulty developed when the trainees entered a 12-week on-the-job training period after 8 weeks of remedial education and other classroom preparation at the company's Electronics Park, at Syracuse. As reported by the training supervisor, "One of the most challenging aspects of the program was getting supervisors to build greater flexibility into their on-the-job training assignments so the trainees could gradually develop confidence in their capabilities."

At a meeting several weeks after on-job training started, a number of trainees complained they were not being asked to do any work. The supervisors responded that often trainees had performed assigned jobs so poorly it would take longer to explain how to do the work correctly than to do the jobs themselves. They were waiting until "appropriate" work came along before giving the trainees any further assignments, the supervisors said.

At this point, according to the training supervisor, "The meeting took off. Different supervisors started suggesting innovations that could be made by those supervisors who were having problems. Supervisors were asking questions, and other supervisors were offering suggestions on how to solve them. This was the turning point in the total program."

This vignette typifies the kind of experience in working with disadvantaged trainees that a dozen or more companies involved in the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program report in a manual developed by the Human Interaction Research Institute under contract with the Manpower Administration. Called *Productive Employment of the Disadvantaged: Guidelines for Action,* the manual[1] is being circulated widely to employers, mainly to companies engaged in JOBS.

Under the JOBS Program, a joint effort of the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) and the Manpower Administration, companies hire and then train the disadvantaged. Some firms sign contracts with the Manpower Administration spelling out the training and supportive services the disadvantaged workers will receive. In return, the firms are reimbursed by the Government for the additional costs involved in training hard-to-employ people. Other firms operate the program strictly on their own.

Lessons learned by the JOBS companies are valuable to any organization that hires and trains employees, the manual makes clear. As the JOBS employers who were surveyed went about trying to modify their employment and training practices for the sake of the disadvanatged, they found themselves developing more realistic personnel policies, greater training expertise, and more skillful supervisors—all of which led to better use and development of their regular work force.

A spokesman for one of the major automobile manufacturers concluded, "What seems to be emerging from our recent concentrated attention on the hard-core is a realization that rather than devise special treatment for them, we really need to be applying the same enlightened practices to our whole work force."

Chase Manhattan Bank recognized this when it set up training for regular hires that was modeled after the program for the disadvantaged, including orientation, skill training, remedial education, and other services. In another example, a California retail chain found that disadvantaged workers trained 2 weeks in a mobile unit with simulated checkout stands knew more when they went on the job than experienced employees. As a result, the company now gives similar training to all new employees. Regular employees require only 1 week instead of 2, but they receive the same counseling and support services that JOBS employees do.

A large metropolitan hospital used an entry-level JOBS program to stimulate the general upgrading of its training staff, making it possible to offer high school equivalency certificate and practical nurse training to all employees.

Others Share Disadvantaged's Problems

The discovery that having to grapple with JOBS trainees' problems can generate an unexpected bonus in the form of overall improvement in company management should not be surprising, the manual says.

"Most problems found in the group designated 'disadvantaged' are not peculiar to them, but are shared by many in the general work force. One need only to consider physical and emotional problems, Monday morning hangovers, and three-martini lunches" to recognize this, the manual notes.

Many of the differences between disadvantaged and ordinary workers are differences of degree, not kind. Many are disadvantaged only in the sense that they have been excluded from the regular work force (especially from good jobs) on the basis of race, social class, or age—attributes not necessarily related to present or potential job performance.

What all this means, the manual points out, is that com-

Philip Mason is a member of the Manpower Administration information staff.

[1] Single copies of the manual are available free from the Inquiries Section, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210.

panies that ease their recruiting and hiring standards will be able to draw from a broader labor pool than before.

The manual is not presented to employers as a book of prescriptions. It says that a few of the practices described might be applied directly, but most are "more likely to be suitable for adaptation than adoption."

How does a company go about hiring and training the disadvantaged?

Establishing a company's objectives, making sure that management's motivation includes "an honest desire to help the people and the business," and then gaining the commitment of the regular work force to make the program succeed—these are the first steps, according to the manual. Businesses that have been successful in mounting effective programs to hire and train the disadvantaged are unanimous in their conviction that commitment is the most important requisite for getting the job done.

Company Must Explain Objectives

But no matter how committed top management may be, excuses and vacillation at middle-management levels and below can sabotage implementation, according to the manual.

Many companies have discovered that merely announcing plans to participate in a manpower training program arouses anxiety, especially when the proposed activities—in-house training—and the new employees—disadvantaged members of a minority group—are not familiar to regular workers. It is important to tell all personnel the objectives of the program, the manual says, and to point out that the benefits are expected to include upgrading of present employees, meeting equal employment requirements, increased productivity, updating of personnel policies and practices for all employees, and improving the company image.

As an illustration of what can happen when a company fails to keep its employees fully informed, the manual describes the experiences of Prudential Life Insurance Company in Los Angeles. The firm believed many employees and supervisors would not be in favor of its JOBS program and wanted to avoid arousing unnecessary antagonism. It developed seminars to orient management people to the program but did not insist on attendance. When complaints and rumors began to circulate about the program, the company decided to stop providing information, hoping to stem further employee reaction. The result was just the opposite: More rumors, misinformation, and resentment.

Prudential concluded that it had to give employees at all levels specific answers to such questions as, "How is this going to affect me?", "What kinds of special services and benefits are these new people getting?", and "Why aren't we getting them too?"

Once the company did provide factual information, resentment diminished greatly. And as trainees got into jobs and employees had favorable work experiences with them, the problems were largely resolved.

Not all companies have the resources or capability to train disadvantaged workers, the manual points out. Many factors need to be explored and some changes may have to be made. In determining whether to take on a JOBS project, a company should ask itself such questions as:

- Are we interested in identifying new sources of labor, new techniques for developing human capital?
- Can we offer jobs at a livable wage that provide opportunity for advancement?
- Is there a sufficient pool of disadvantaged persons in the community?
- Are our personnel policies flexible enough to accommodate people with limited work experience and different lifestyles?
- Are we willing to redesign jobs and upgrade people to make room for the disadvantaged?
- Will we make the educational effort to reduce our employees' prejudice?
- Do we have the training resources or are we willing to provide them?
- Are our union relationships good enough to proceed with such a program?
- Are there resources available to help us mount a program —skill training centers, adult education classes, an NAB office, a State employment service office?
- Are we prepared to assign a top person to oversee the program?

If a company decides to go ahead with a JOBS project, the manual suggests that it be run by a coalition of professional training personnel, minority group members from community organizations, and management people. Some personnel departments can provide the kind of leadership needed. But, the manual cautions, programs like JOBS should not be delegated to a personnel department that "resists change and treats existing policies as too sacrosanct for reexamination, practices overt or covert discrimination against minorities, or regards as defeats changes made to accommodate unions' or employees' wishes."

The best program staff, the manual says, frequently are "industrial training types, drawn (if possible) from a com-

Remedial education is an important facet of many JOBS programs. The manual advises employers to keep remedial education job related, and cautions against trying to compress it into too short a period.

pany's own supervisors and workers, who have a serious interest in teaching skills and developing employability, and who are capable of being direct and fair with members of minority groups, and who have a sense of independence from traditional practices."

The manual makes it clear that any company wishing to hire disadvantaged workers will have to alter its recruiting style. Hard-to-employ persons, having long felt excluded from good opportunities, seldom venture into a company's employment office or inquire at a receptionist's desk about job possibilities. Some companies have been surprised and disappointed to learn that unskilled, untrained, and undereducated jobseekers often are arbitrarily rebuffed by insensitive receptionists, security guards, employment clerks, and others they meet in their initial visit.

Among the changes the manual says companies have made in their hiring policies to accommodate the disadvantaged are dropping requirements for a high school diploma, easing rules against hiring anyone with an arrest record, dropping nonperformance tests for entry-level jobs, and eliminating sex and race biases.

Early Union Involvement Urged

Employers should establish early in their planning the wage rates they will pay, the manual advises. Wages should be the same as those paid other employees in similar work or training. Wages that don't compete with welfare benefits and other subsidies, and that don't permit a "minimally decent standard of living" will neither attract nor retain recruits. Support services can be a supplementary attraction.

To assure that the interests of their regular employees are not forgotten, some companies have made a special point when better jobs open up to train long-time workers to qualify for them. This has a double advantage, the manual says. It recognizes the loyalty and experience of long-service employees by helping them boost their earning power, and it creates openings for disadvantaged workers in entry-level jobs.

Companies that have unions are more likely to gain acceptance of and cooperation with the program if they bring the unions in on the initial discussion of hiring and training disadvantaged people. The manual tells how International Harvester consulted the United Auto Workers (UAW) in planning its first program to train the disadvantaged. The union agreed to view the first 4 weeks of prejob training as preprobationary and not affected by the usual union requirements. Though the union had no formal relationship with the pro-

JOBS

Some companies prefer to train their JOBS employees by putting them alongside experienced workers in the regular production process (top), while other firms set aside a special training area (bottom) that simulates actual production conditions.

Involving regular supervisors in the train process helps them to know trainees, manual says, and eases trainees' transition i the regular work for

gram, the UAW national office urged local officials to support the effort, two union shop stewards became program instructors, and the union helped squelch rumors and get acceptance from workers, some of whom had tended to see the program as reverse discrimination.

On its part, the company included a discussion of the union in its orientation of new trainees.

In seeking disadvantaged workers, the manual advises recruiters to be frank about the job and not gloss over its limitations. Even if there are undesirable features, the job may be valued by prospective employees if it has adequate pay and fringe benefits, a chance to develop marketable skills, and opportunity for upgrading and advancement. It is especially helpful to arrange a visit to the job site for prospective employees, the manual says. It cites the example of a west coast firm that uses black recruiters who take potential employees to the plant so they can see people of their same characteristics already in training and earning good pay.

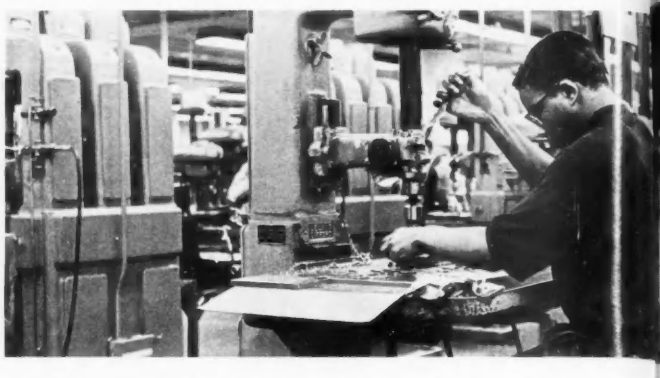
Some Applicants Fear Written Forms

A guide for hiring minority workers referred to in the manual analyzes some of the reasons interviewers screen out potentially good employees:

- "Personal appearance"—What the interviewer sees may be the height of fashion in the applicant's world, and dark glasses may protect an insecure ego.
- "Attitude"—Hostility and agressiveness often arise from insecurity; properly channeled they can become assets. Passivity or "keeping your cool" can develop from a need to avoid showing feelings of hurt or rejection.
- "Evasiveness"—Often this is the only means of survival in the ghetto.
- "Unwillingness to start at low level"—This attitude may reflect lack of knowledge of the work world, which an interviewer could help remedy.

A written employment application can be a threatening and fearful barrier to some disadvantaged people, the manual says. Although many can fill out much of the form, most will need help from the interviewer in understanding certain questions.

Prehiring tests should not be used to screen out applicants, the manual says. Testing should be done after hiring to help



JOBS

identify specific training needs and to facilitate suitable placement. Companies are advised to avoid traditional tests because they were developed with middle-class whites in mind and do not accurately reflect the abilities of the culturally disadvantaged. In fact, the manual points out, a 1970 Supreme Court decision prohibits the use of tests for job applicants unless they have been validated for the population being tested and are clear predictors of job performance. (The U.S. Employment Service has developed a Nonreading Aptitude Test Battery (NATB) to determine work and job aptitudes for persons who can neither read nor write. Information on NATB and other tests for disadvantaged applicants can be obtained from the local office of any State employment service.)

To avoid the hazards of traditional testing, the manual recommends use of the work sample technique. In work sampling, an applicant for a production line job, for example, may be asked to assemble nuts and bolts or electrical components in a certain sequence. This gives the employer a chance to judge the person's manual dexterity, ability to follow directions, tolerance for repetitive routines, concentration, and similar characteristics.

Two types of training generally are offered entry-level disadvantaged employees: Remedial (sometimes called job-related, or basic) education and skill training. Good training, the manual says, should equip employees with skills that lead to economic security and upward mobility. Companies are cautioned against trying to cover remedial education in a 2-week preemployment program. It cannot be completed in so short a time, the manual says.

To illustrate the role of remedial education in JOBS training, the manual relates the experience of Chase Manhattan Bank. Originally, basic education in the bank's JOBS project was geared to preparing trainees for the high school equivalency (GED) test in a year's time; it was also heavily laced with black and Spanish culture and history. Because they lacked the educational background to succeed in GED preparation, many trainees became bored and quit.

Chase finally surveyed the trainees. "They told us that all this cultural stuff was a waste of time. They wanted to know about the bank," said the JOBS program director. Chase cut the 1-year program in half, dropped much academic content, and emphasized material needed for success in the bank rather than for passing the GED test. Trainees still were taught reading, mathematics, and other academic skills, but only as related to bank needs. The dropout rate fell from 35 to 20 percent.

The success of a JOBS project depends more on its skills training than on any other component, the manual says. And by reimbursing employers for the extra costs of new or modified training approaches, the JOBS Program has helped companies build their training capability.

All skill training should be constructed around a "success" model, the manual advises. Many trainees have experienced failure in their conventional schooling. To instill confidence, skill training should be given in fairly small segments that have clear learning objectives and can be easily mastered. Trainees thus learn that success is attainable and press on for more. They can be further motivated, the manual says, if they are told how the skill they have learned fits into a well paying job.

The manual stresses that companies must take care to select jobs at which disadvantaged candidates can succeed. The jobs in question should be analyzed carefully to determine the skills actually required and the best way to teach them. For help on occupational analysis, companies may consult the employer relations unit of their local employment service office. Also a HANDBOOK FOR ANALYZING JOBS may be purchased for $2.50 from the Superintendent of Documents Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Training Flexibility Emphasized

Participation in the JOBS Program, the manual points out, has helped companies formulate realistic skill requirements for entry-level jobs and make other moves to draw in disadvantaged workers. For instance, good results have been obtained with career ladders that show new employees how they will be able to advance from entry-level jobs to more difficult and better paying positions. The expertise gained in job analysis and career planning will enable a company to set up a workable upgrading program for all its employees, the manual says.

Whether training is done in a special area (sometimes called vestibule training), on the job, and includes classroom instruction, depends on the company, the jobs involved, and the abilities of the employees. Whatever the arrangement, the manual suggests flexible, individualized training plans geared to employee needs and characteristics, with adjustments based on feedback from training supervisors and training supervisors and trainees. It also urges that regular job supervisors be involved in training. This develops their training skills and helps them get to know the trainees, thus easing the trainees' transition into the regular work force.

The manual notes that many managers feel they can't let their best supervisors do on-the-job training because they need them to see that production standards are met. This is short-

On-the-job training—learning the work by actually doing it—is the heart of the JOBS philosophy.

sighted, the manual contends, because left on their own or placed with mediocre supervisors, trainees will not learn how to do the job properly.

A number of examples are cited in the manual to show that different approaches and different combinations of vestibule and on-the-job training can be effective. At one small (60 employees) east coast metal working plant, new employees go immediately into on-the-job training. The foreman interviews all applicants, carefully explaining jobs and showing them around the shop. Those who express interest are hired, even though many have unfavorable work histories. The company has been hiring ex-addicts and ex-convicts for some time, so it has considerable experience with the hard-to-employ.

Regular hires are trained alongside JOBS trainees. Each trainee fills out a card every day showing what pieces he worked on and when. Though primarily for cost accounting and quality control, the card gives supervisors a chance to discuss the new employees' work with them. The foreman encourages regular employees to share their experience, further integrating the new people into the company.

A large corporation on the west coast employs a different approach, using vestibule training to prepare disadvantaged new workers for jobs. Training is supervised by a professional training staff. Trainees move from bench to bench, mastering each job skill. When they demonstrate sufficient ability they are moved to the production line. The system protects the new people from their fear of not being able to perform well, and from the potentially critical attitudes of regular employees. In the vestibule setting, the new workers are supervised by people who have time to understand their needs.

Pacific Northwest Bell Telephone Company, in its JOBS program, combines vestibule and on-the-job training. When the company started training the disadvantaged for jobs as linemen, framemen, and installer-repairmen, it gave them 3 weeks of classroom training and then assigned them to repair crews. There they received on-the-job training from a senior craftsman.

Results were not good; turnover was about 60 percent. "We were asking trainees to cross too many bridges at a time —expecting them at absorb technical training while they were having problems of coping with the ways of a work culture," a Bell supervisor explained.

The program was restructured. In the prejob phase, the trainees' personal adjustment problems were given close attention while they received technical classroom instruction. The second step was "hands-on" work in the field, relatively unstructured so job pressures did not pile up on top of social adjustment problems. Trainees replaced drop wires, placed poles, and did other work under close supervision. Quality of performance was carefully checked before trainees moved on to the next job. Questions that could not be resolved in the field were saved for the classroom.

Trainees then returned to the classroom. Their work thus far was evaluated and they were directed into a job speciality. Then they were formed into training crews. After 3 weeks the foremen training them took them into the field for experience in a wide range of work situations.

Finally, the trainees were integrated into regular crews. Initial results from the new training approach were encouraging. Turnover dropped to 40 percent and was expected to drop to about 20 percent as the program was refined. The quality and quantity of the trainees' work also showed marked improvement.

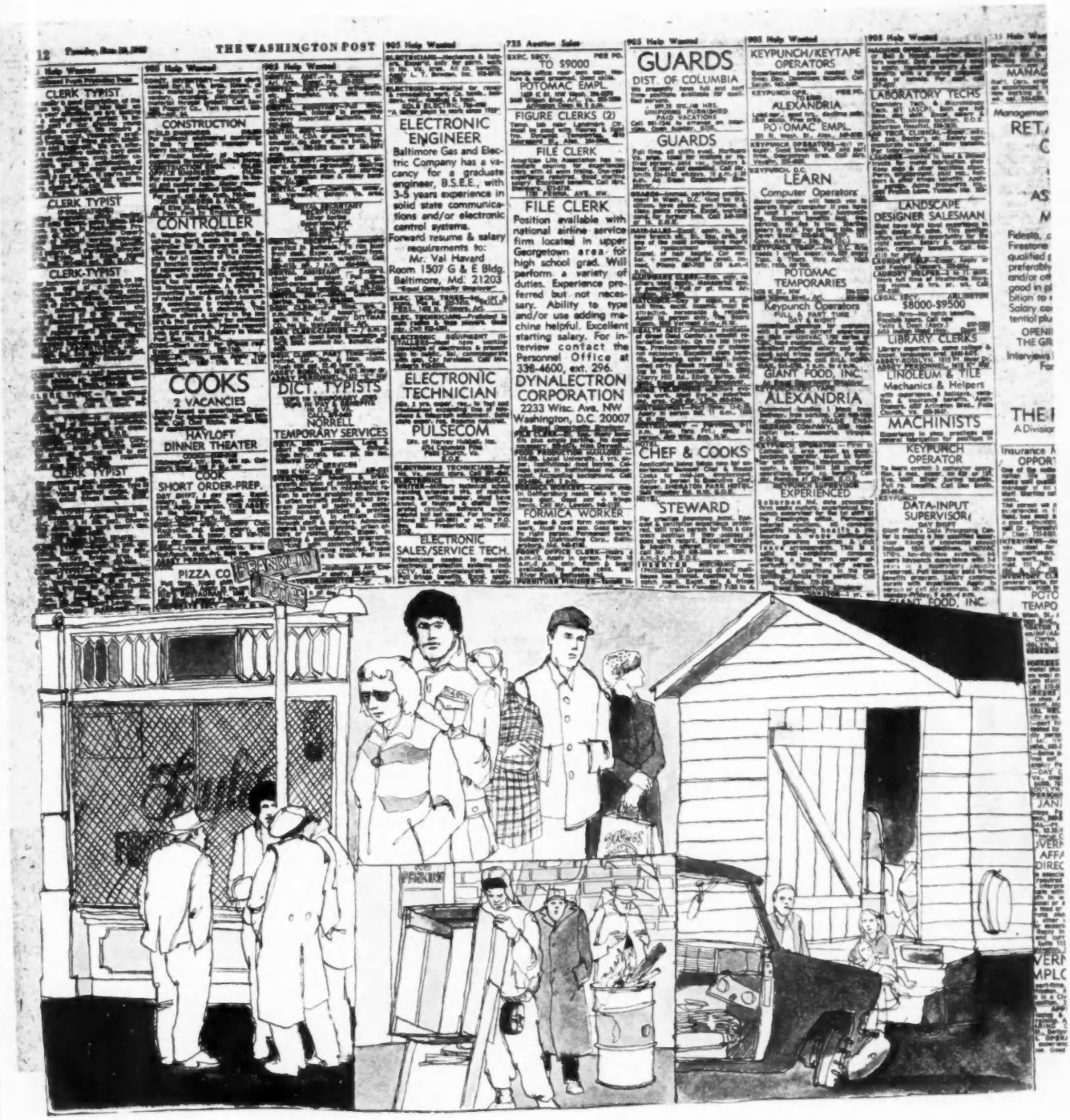
Role-Modeling Techniques Recommended

In discussing the relationship between disadvantaged workers and their trainers and supervisors, the manual includes a note of caution: A training relationship may be jeopardized by the tendency of some trainees—and trainers and supervisors—to "personalize" their experience to the point that it can lead to a breakdown of teaching effectiveness. Instructors should try to maintain a "discreet psychological distance" from their trainees, and yet remain able to relate to their individual training needs.

The manual urges instructors to learn and use simple social reinforcement and role-modeling techniques. The instructor demonstrates a task, one element at a time. The trainee copies the instructor as best he can. The instructor tells the trainee when he is succeeding, and corrects him when he goes wrong without drawing undue attention to his errors.

An important advantage of this method is its emphasis on the job—something the instructor and trainee have in common —and its deemphasis on any personal or attitudinal differences they may have. Trainee and instructor don't have to be compatible, the manual says, although it helps when they are. The instructor only has to like what the trainee does on the job. And the trainee only has to understand and apply the instruction. Keeping the relationship objective supports realistic attitudes of fairness and acceptance on the part of both.

The manual reports that supervisors have found this approach to be helpful for a wide variety of job-related matters —including observance of attendance, punctuality, safety, and other rules—and that the method is generally applicable to all employees. □



Want Ads and Jobs for the Poor

by Bradley R. Schiller

How can so many people be unemployed and on welfare when the classified ads of every major newspaper list thousands of available jobs?

That question is asked often. To many people, the answer is simple: The unemployed are out of work only because they will not go out and get one of the many jobs listed in the want ads. As a student of poverty I, too, have wondered about the inconsistency. As a classroom teacher, I have had to deal with it on countless occasions when questions were raised by skeptical and largely—despite the "New Left Revolution"—conservative students. Of course, one can try to fend off skeptical students with references to academic studies about motivation and

Bradley Schiller is assistant professor of economics at the University of Maryland.

Want Ads

work history and with theories of structural imbalance in our economy which result in unemployment. Yet the doubts persist. How *can* so many want ads and unemployed persons coexist?

To resolve this question, it appeared that extraordinary efforts were necessary —in a word, the students and I would have to seek some facts. Venturing outside the classroom, however, we were unable to locate studies of a relationship between want ad listings and the employment situation of the poor. To confront the issue head on, we then launched the Washington Metropolitan Area Classified Employment Advertising Research Project.

In our project, three undergraduate students set out to determine how many jobs were listed on Sunday, the kinds of jobs these were, whether they were available to the poor, and whether they were being filled. We also sought to learn what obstacles, such as discrimination, impede the poor in getting these jobs. We used the classified ad section of the WASHINGTON POST for Sunday, March 4, 1973. This newspaper covers a metropolitan area of nearly 3 million people and has a Sunday circulation of more than 1 million.

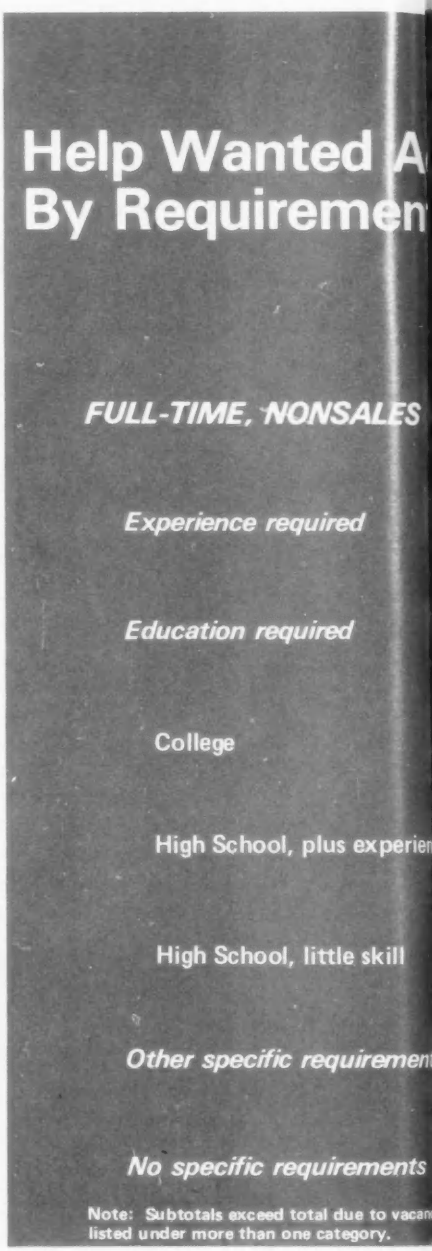
At the time of our survey, there were 36,400 jobless people in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area who were available for work, according to *Area Trends in Employment and Unemployment*, published by the Manpower Administration. In the District of Columbia alone, the city's Department of Human Resources statistics show, there were 118,000 persons receiving welfare, including 28,000 adults. Hence, there appeared to be plenty of people who might fill job vacancies. The exceptionally low unemployment rate in the area, moreover, seemed to augur success for those who really tried to get work.

First, we tried to identify the number of job vacancies listed in the Sunday want ads. This proved to be more difficult than we thought. Many vacancies were listed several ways. For example, a sales job might be listed simultaneously as "management trainee," "executive assistant," and "customer relations person" as well as "salesperson." Also, some want ads claimed unlimited openings (these proved to be limited in number), and some firms listed many vacancies. As a result, the study data include rough estimates for some of the vacancy listings.

In all, there were 3,028 vacancies advertised. A check on the advertising for earlier weeks indicated that the volume of listings had been fairly stable for 3 months.

This number of jobs was small compared with the number of persons who were on welfare. Moreover, it was clear that the poor could not qualify for all of the jobs. Obviously, companies looking for "systems programers" or a "financial manager" did not have the typical welfare recipient in mind when they advertised. Nor are welfare recipients likely to stand much chance of getting a position as an "architect," "chemical engineer," or "pharmacist." Even "topless waitress" jobs, which pay good money, are beyond the reach of many jobseekers. Accordingly, the want ad listings had to be examined to determine how many of the jobs actually were open to people with weak education and employment credentials.

To determine the number of job vacancies that the poor might reasonably qualify for, the researchers catalogued listings according to education, experience, and other requirements (see chart). Then, they focused on the jobs within each category which seemed most accessible to the poor. These were jobs with no specific requirements and those calling for no more than a high school education and a modest amount of experience.



The study findings are not encouraging. The number of vacancies for which the poor might qualify turned out to be quite small. Of the 2,575 full-time, nonsales jobs listed, only 183 had no educational or experience prerequisites; only 171 other vacancies required modest credentials. Thus, only 354 of the listings—12 percent—were jobs that poor people might get.

Next, the researchers sought information on what happened to these job openings.

They waited until 2 weeks after the want ads appeared, then began calling

employers who had advertised. Initially, the students posed as jobseekers when they made these calls in order to avoid the appearance of prying into the employers' business affairs. However, most of the employers were incredulous that jobseekers would wait so long before applying. As a result, the research nature of the university project was identified.

Using a random sample—a third of the 354 listings—the researchers found that 85 percent of the "no credentials" listings had been filled. In the "modest credentials" category, 94 percent of the jobs had been filled. In both categories, most employers said the vacancies were filled in a day or two. A large number of the unfilled vacancies were restaurant counter jobs.

Most "no credentials" jobs in the study appeared to have high turnover rates. These were openings for delivery and taxicab drivers, cafeteria help, service station attendants, and nonunion construction laborers. Employers said that vacancies continually occurred in these jobs. While some of this turnover was endemic to the job, as in parts of the construction industry, much of it seems to be explained by the pay, conditions of work, and status mobility aspirations of the workers. It is important to emphasize, however, that high turnover does nothing to enhance or reduce the ratio of jobs to jobseekers. At best, it just spreads the unemployment around a little.

Want ads, of course, vastly understate the volume of actual job openings. Numerous studies have demonstrated that employers and jobseekers alike rely heavily on personal communications networks. Private employment agencies, union and other organizational employment aids, and State employment service offices also serve as exchanges for employers and jobseekers.

But for poor people, many of these routes to jobs are closed. Few in their family and neighborhood, for example, are employed in the mainstream. Thus, they are not part of the "old friend" network of information on jobs. Nor are they good candidates for private employment agencies, which make their money by charging fees and commissions for placements. Ordinarily, there is not much money to be made in placing people in "no credentials" or "modest credentials" jobs. To get union help in lining up a job, membership in the union often is a requirement that the poor cannot meet.

When the want ad study was made, the outlook appeared good for jobseekers in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. The unemployment rate was only 2.6 percent—about half the national rate. However, we could not escape the conclusion that the number of available jobs falls short of the number of people who need work. Even in a favorable climate, the 354 advertised job vacancies for which the poor might qualify were far from meeting the job needs of a welfare population of 110,000.

The appearance of want ads in times of unemployment suggests high job turnover rather than persisting job vacancies. □

News & Notes

A new symbol has been developed for the employment service for use at both Federal and State levels. It features three flowing lines—called a bannermark—and the words Job Service. These words were chosen for their positive emphasis and to eliminate the confusion that often has existed between the employment (job placement) and unemployment (insurance) roles of State employment security agencies. Because it does not include the prefix "U.S.", the Job Service symbol can be used with State organization names without raising questions over whether the agency is a Federal or State organization. But the bannermark, with its obvious origin in the flag, implies a national characteristic. Thus, it is felt that the new symbol is appropriate for the joint Federal-State responsibilities vested in the employment service. The new symbol will be used in a comprehensive employer services and job development public communications program being launched by the Manpower Administration. State agencies also are being urged to use the symbol wherever feasible.

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The placement rate for participants who left the Job Corps in fiscal year 1973—including those who did not complete their training—was 85 percent, up from 78 percent the preceding year. Placements include those who got jobs, returned to school, or entered the Armed Forces.

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Almost 40,000 persons took training in health occupations in 1972 under the GI bill, according to the Veterans Administration. There were 15,500 persons studying to be physicians, the biggest occupational group.

* * *

The National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) has reported that it obtained a record number of jobs for disadvantaged persons and Vietnam-era veterans during fiscal year 1973. Over 35,000 participating companies employed 343,905 disadvantaged persons during the year ending June 30--146 percent of the 235,000 goal for the year, the NAB said. NAB's year-end tallies show its job-finding efforts for veterans reached 232,020 during fiscal 1973--or 155 percent of the target of 150,000.

Apprenticeship Outreach projects based in three California cities have received a total of $630,229 in Manpower Administration funds to prepare 565 minority youth to pass apprentice entrance tests. The Bay Area Construction Opportunity Program in Oakland will prepare 230 minority youth under a $284,574 contract. The Southern California Area Construction Opportunity Program of Santa Ana has been given a $203,942 contract to prepare 225 potential apprentices. And 110 youth will be prepared for apprenticeship by the Mexican American Opportunity Foundation of Los Angeles under a $141,783 agreement.

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Some 160 unemployed Spanish-speaking residents of the District of Columbia will receive language and job training under an 18-month program supported by $771,000 in Federal funds. The project, largest ever for Spanish-speaking residents of the District of Columbia, will furnish up to 44 weeks of training for participants, including concentrated instruction in English as a second language and skill training in auto mechanics and clerical occupations.

* * *

Some 60,000 veterans are receiving Veterans Administration training allowances as apprentices in registered programs. They constitute about one-third of all apprentices in registered programs.

* * *

Attendance is the major disciplinary problem for employers, according to a survey conducted by the Bureau of National Affairs (BNA), a private research and publishing organization. About 80 percent of the employers in the BNA survey described absenteeism, tardiness, or other aspects of attendance as their most serious employee problem.

* * *

Job dissatisfaction is widespread in executive echelons, according to a study by the American Management Association. More than half of the supervisory managers among 2,821 business executives in an Association survey called their work "unsatisfying." And 30 percent of the respondents felt their work had adversely affected their health. Almost half the executives said that since 1967 they had changed, or had considered changing, occupations.

Work Ethics: Collision in the Classroom

by David C. MacMichael

Schools Caught Between Conflicting Views On the Values They Should Try to Impart

Some critics of our educational system say the American public school system was set up to do nothing more than to provide employers with suitably indoctrinated and docile workers. Indeed, some early apostles of mass public schooling appealed to businessmen to support education as the means for teaching respect for authority, instilling conformity, showing the rewards of effort and obedience, and building up student immunity to the blandishments of labor unions.

Nowadays, businessmen often express disappointment about the limited success achieved by the schools in meeting these objectives. At the same time, there are scholars, like Ivan Illich, who contend that the schools have been all too successful in pursuit of such goals—with the result that schools are joyless places that crush aspirations and prepare students (these critics consider them "victims") for lifetime spent conforming to the will of others. The debate has little to do with the quite distinct matter of whether the schools adequately transmit work skills—rather, it focuses on whether they socialize young people to embrace the work ethic.

The question of what the work ethic is often has been overlooked in the agreement that it ought to be transmitted. There is confusion between the bour-

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David MacMichael is a senior social scientist at the Center for Study of Social Policy of the Stanford Research Institute. This article is drawn from the resource paper he wrote for the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare task force which carried out the *Work in America* study. This and other papers for the study were prepared under the auspices of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research and are being published by M.I.T. Press, 28 Carleton St., Cambridge, Mass. 02142 under the tentative title, WORK AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE: RESOURCE PAPERS FOR THE WORK IN AMERICA STUDY.

Work Ethics

'To teach the work ethic in its original form would cause problems for society and for the school.'

geois, self-improved ethic of frugality, investment, and self-denial as a lifestyle that was part of the establishment of the capitalist system, and the work ethic imposed by the bourgeoisie on the working class. This imposed ethic stressed obedience, conformity, and docility to the will of human masters, which has an entirely different moral character than the self-imposed ethic. The confusion between the two is compounded today by recognition that neither ethic has complete application to the corporate industrial era.

Industrial Ethic Eroding

Here is what Kenneth Hoyt and his coauthors of the book, CAREER EDUCATION: WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO DO IT, have to say about this matter:

"To teach the work ethic in its original form would cause problems for society and for the school. The present system is better described as consumerism than capitalism, and old-style frugality could wreck it. A part of the youth culture rejects every type of work ethic. The industrial work ethic is eroding, and a postindustrial work ethic has yet to develop." The authors note, however, that it seems indefensible not to teach youth that employers do value the traditional work ethic and that major violations of it will lead to discharge.

Any discussion of work and its place in our society must consider the charge that the educational system has encouraged a false worship of the baccalaureate degree and overemphasis on college preparation—with attendant depreciation of the value of work that does not require college. Whatever truth there is in this charge may stem from the confusion between the middle class and working class work ethics.

As Colin Greer argues in his book, THE GREAT SCHOOL LEGEND: A RE-

VISIONIST INTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN PUBLIC EDUCATION, the schools were charged with and carried out the task of selecting the future labor force and indoctrinating it in the bourgeoisie-imposed working class ethic. But, Greer points out, as organizations run and staffed by the middle class, the schools also were committed to the bourgeois or middle class ethic and the achievement of middle class goals. Very important to this ethic is the notion of deferral of gratification. Remaining in school or going on to college rather than taking an available job is seen as paying dividends in the ability to secure a higher status, higher paying job at a later date. By definition, this depreciates the job that does not require deferred gratification and added schooling.

Inevitably, the standard of accountability that middle class values impose on schools establishes as better or more successful those schools that prepare the highest percentage of students for college. Schools that have the highest percentage of dropouts—students who cannot even defer gratification until high school graduation—are considered failures. It is not surprising that parents, many of whom passed through a similar school system, have similar values and want to see their children prepared for higher education and higher status employment.

It might be argued that the American public school system, originally designed to produce factory and office fodder trained in the bourgeoisie-imposed ethic, has failed at least partly because its middle class personnel are unable to avoid demonstrating their commitment to another ethic that promises higher rewards. The middle class teacher, counselor, or school administrator cannot hold out any other image of success except that of middle class achievement.

In this way, even leaving out all the other factors socializing the American child toward a middle class rather than a working class ethic, the school system necessarily introduces bias toward middle class occupations and middle class means of entering them. This not only encourages more students to make the attempt to reach higher status jobs, but tends to cause those who do not to regard their choice as second best.

Too much stress should not be placed on the school as the creator of occupational bias, however. The school, after all, is merely one of society's means of transmitting its cultural preferences and reflects the values of society. Like almost every other society in the world, ours assigns status to various occupations. The most highly valued are middle class in nature, even when they are not the most highly paid.

Skilled Labor Imported

This attitude is, perhaps, more characteristic here than in Europe due to our lack of a definable working class with its own tradition and political organization. For many years before World War I, the United States was accustomed to importing most of its highly skilled labor from Europe and the resulting association of skilled manual labor with foreignness detracted from its desirability. Thus, despite rhetoric to the contrary, the manual occupations (except for agriculture) have never been honored in this country. To expect that a school system that reflects the values of this Nation would so honor those occupations is to expect the peculiar.

Career education advocates recognize intuitively that the schools transmit the middle class ethic. As a means of reinforcing the working class ethic, they propose using workers from industry as counselors and teachers in the schools. However, they can expect success only to the extent that the people who replace the middle class teacher as the role model in school are themselves able to, or want to, transmit the working class ethic. More than likely, they will not want to do so.

Instead, these new educators are more likely to follow the course of vocational educators by striving to implant in their students skills that enable them to bargain more effectively with employers. Not surprisingly, employers tend to be unhappy with vocational education—largely because it is skill and not attitude (working class ethic) oriented. Present trends in teacher union organization and bargaining tactics also may weaken the limited ability of middle class teachers to present the model of submissiveness to authority that is part of the working class ethic.

The picture reflects some of the great changes that have taken place in our society from the day when Southern and Eastern European immigrant children in our public schools were assumed to be inferior. Consequently, although their WASP teachers might exemplify an upwardly mobile ethic and lifestyle, it was taken for granted that these were not to be adopted by other than WASP or Northern European children.

For some years, the schools were successful in implanting notions of inferiority by the process of selecting out the hewers and drawers and pushing them into the labor force at an early age. However, for a number of reasons, not the least of them the demands for national unity imposed by two world wars, this changed and the children of Slavs and Southern Europeans were urged to adopt the same educational and occupational goals that the schools held out to their native American and Northern European students. Also, the fact that the teaching profession was reasonably easy to enter meant that more and more non-WASP children found ethnic middle class teachers as role models.

The same could not be said for black

pupils. The segregated Negro schools of the pre-1954 era served the social purpose of ingraining a subordinate working class ethic in the young black population. Indeed, the most influential black spokesman of the early part of this century, Booker T. Washington, never ceased to impress on his hearers the need for black Americans to embrace the working class ethic as the means for gaining social acceptance. Sights were not to be raised higher than that. It would not be farfetched to speculate that the drive for Negro equality that marked the 1960's and continues today is at least partly a result of school integration and the exposure of black youth to the middle class aspirations of white teachers.

'The school, after all, is merely one of society's means of transmitting its cultural preferences and reflects the values of society.'

Contradictions Noted

Research on educational and occupational aspirations among minority youth indicates a great ambivalence. At the same time that the school points to the path upward and encourages black youth to take it, the same school delivers the unmistakable message that the path will be too steep for them and that lower aspirations would be more realistic. Still, black students of lower socioeconomic status tend to have higher career and educational expectations than white students of a similar status.

At the same time, one researcher notes, there is a discrepancy between very high educational aspirations of black students (92 percent of black high school students interviewed were certain they would finish college; 80 percent believed their parents wanted them to finish) and low occupational aspirations. For instance, 30 percent of the black students who aspired to a college education did not aspire to a job requiring one. Michael Hindelang, the author of the study, speculated that the black students realistically calculated that they would have to be educationally

overqualified in order to compete with whites even for lower status jobs.

There is a wealth of information in the form of anecdote and experience to support the proposition that the schools tend to limit the occupational aspirations of minority ethnic groups as well as the less academically talented of other groups. This does not mean, however, that the school readies these children for low-status work by instilling in their hearts the working class ethic. Indeed, it may well be that the schools are inducing instead a distaste for lower status work by too closely relating academic performance and qualifications for further education with the types of jobs one can hope for.

Even such diverse thinkers as Paul Goodman and Eric Hoffer agree that younger, minority jobseekers have lately shown a marked distaste for accepting jobs that not too many years ago were regarded as at least semiskilled. The distaste seems to rest essentially on the ground that, once it is made available to blacks, a job automatically loses status. One recalls Groucho Marx' refusal to join a club on the grounds that there must be something wrong with an organization that would accept him as a member.

Changes in the nature of work itself also affect attitudes toward the work ethics. In retrospect, it is easy to see that the shift from transmission of working class values to middle class values on the part of the schools coincided with the shift from a manufacturing to a service economy—from blue collar to white collar. The emphasis on higher education that has been characteristic of the post-World War II era coincided with a tremendous expansion of white-collar jobs. Thus, the middle class value preferences of the school system were reinforced and rationalized by the realities of the job market. For almost two decades after World War II, the social preferences of the majority of people, school characteristics, and the development of the economy were in a rare state of harmony.

Postwar assumptions about occupational preparation were summed up in the Life Adjustment Program promoted by the U.S. Office of Education in 1945. It was believed that the jobs of the future would tend to be so dull, routine, and simplified that the average person could not find his life satisfactions in his work. Hence, the task of the schools became one of preparing people for this inevitable occupational fate, not by training them for work, but by exposing them to the actualities of work and encouraging the development of civic, aesthetic, and domestic capabilities through which they could fulfill themselves. Life adjustment, in turn, was destroyed by the drive for post-Sputnik academic excellence.

College Trend Reversed

It was not until the early 1960's, when attention began to focus on youth unemployment, that much concern for the relationship between school and work began to be expressed once more. Almost immediately, as the Manpower Development and Training Act began to lodge important youth job training responsibilities in the U.S. Department of Labor, vocational educators—upstaged during the academic excellence drive of the late 1950's—began to argue that the fault lay in the schools and the remedies must be found there, too.

They argued that it had been the overemphasis on academic preparation for the scientific race with the Soviet Union that had led to the poor employment situation of youth. They saw the need for a reemphasis on job preparation for the majority of students, who would not go on to college. But the 1963 Vocational Education Act and its 1968 amendments did not have the desired effect, with the result that the Career Education Program is now being adopted.

Today's emphasis on career education and the open discouragement of extending education ("baccalaureate degree worship") clearly is a reversal of a long trend in U.S. education. It also marks a reversal in the long trend of economic development. The industrialization process that first required the educational system to produce more and more properly disciplined and subordinated workers, followed by more highly educated and specialized white-collar workers, and then masses of managers and professionals, seems to be coming to an end.

If this is so, there will be increasing social and individual dissatisfaction with our educational system. This will happen because biases already in the system for jobs of higher status, achieved through deferred entry into the labor market, will not coordinate with national economic and social requirements. Moreover, while our schools may be faced with the need to transmit new value systems affecting work, in place of the old self-imposed ethic and the work ethic imposed on others by the bourgeoisie, they may find this difficult indeed. Problems will arise both from the schools' middle class orientation and other innate characteristics, as well as from many powerful segments of society which will put intense pressure on the school system not to change.

Until such time as the postindustrial economy and society have emerged, and their values become felt, the probability is that our schools will continue to transmit the present overwhelming bias for white-collar occupations requiring lengthy formal education and certification—and to continue to be a battleground for many of the tensions and uncertainties in our society. □

Words & Figures

Earnings of Manpower Program Graduates

Fiscal year 1973 data for five major manpower programs show average hourly earnings ranging from $2.33 for people who got jobs after completing the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) to $4.21 for workers who went through national on-the-job (OJT) training projects. Between these extremes were employed completers from the JOBS Optional (JOP) Program upgrade and entry components, who were earning $3.15 and $2.56 an hour, respectively. (The JOP Program, administered by State on-the-job training agencies, offers entry-level training for the unemployed and training to upgrade the skills of the underemployed.) Workers who went through institutional (classroom) training projects under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) averaged $2.76.

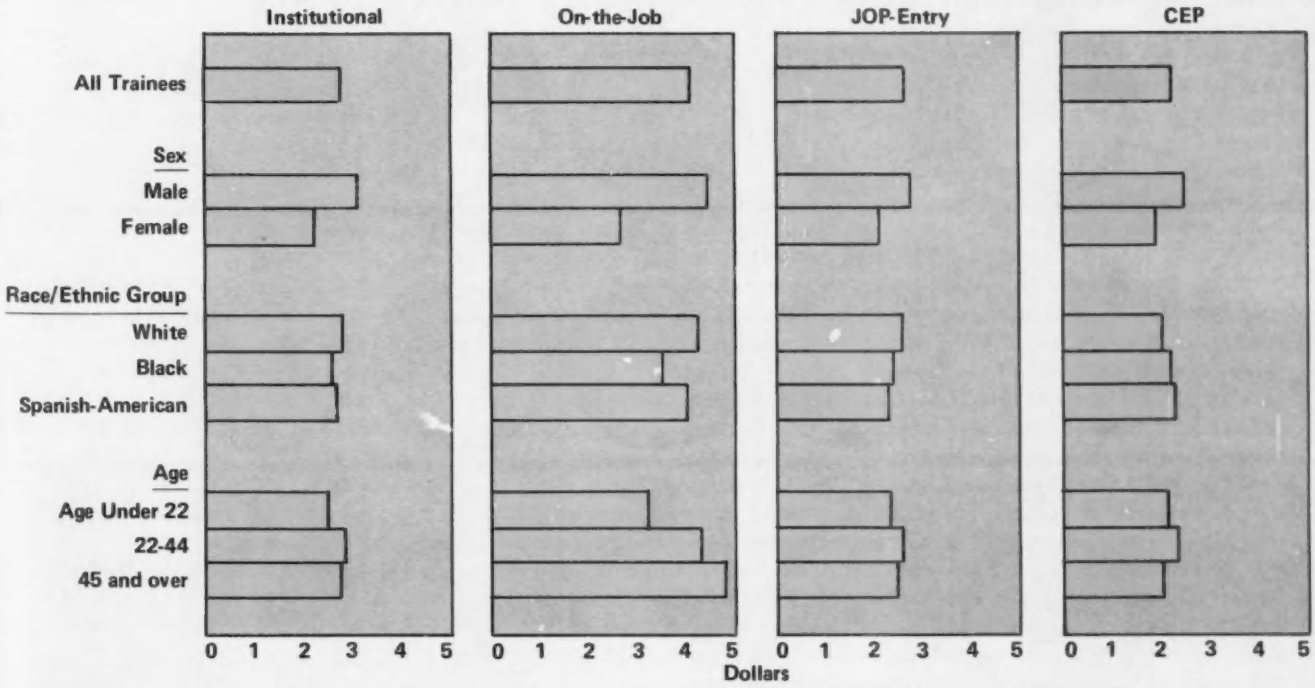
In all cases, men were earning more than women from the same program. The largest hourly earnings differential by sex was $1.80, and it was in the national OJT program. The smallest differential—48 cents—was in CEP.

Among the five programs, the range in earnings was less for women than for men. Average hourly earnings for men ranged from $2.54 for CEP completers to $4.54 for national OJT graduates. For women, earnings ranged from $2.06 for CEP completers to $2.74 for national OJT.

Whites tended to earn more than either blacks or Hispanic Americans. Only in CEP did black and Hispano completers earn more than whites. Hispanos who came out of institutional or national OJT programs earned more than did blacks from those programs. In the JOP program black completers earned more than Hispanos.

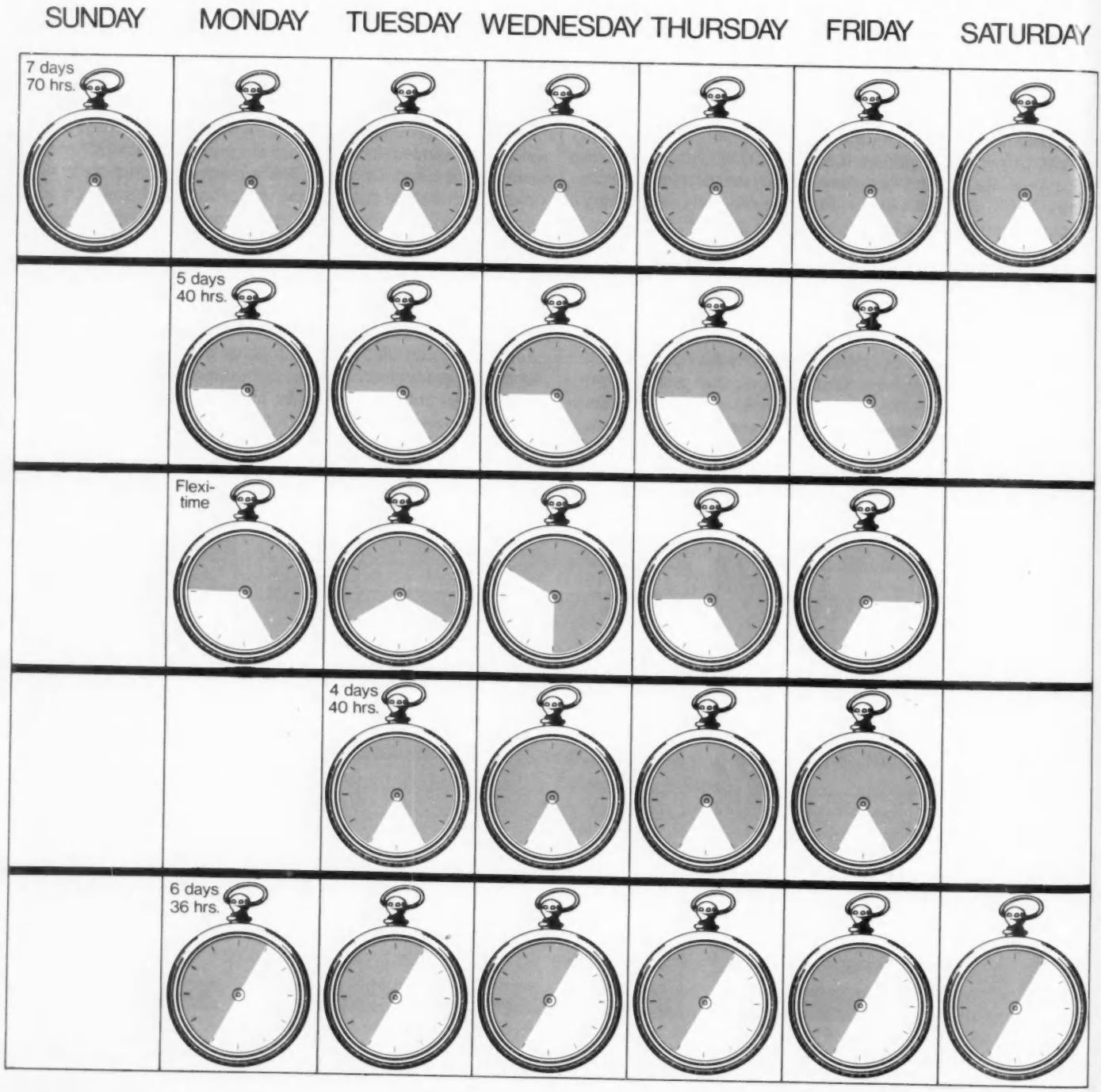
In all but the CEP program, persons less than 22 years old had the lowest earnings. The highest average earnings of $4.85 was for national OJT completers 45 and over. That age group also had the highest earnings among JOP upgrade graduates. Among completers of institutional, JOP entry, and CEP training, those in the 22-to-44 age group earned the most.

Average Hourly Earning of Completers From Selected Manpower Programs Fiscal Year 1973



Work and Leisure: Putting It All Together

by Lillian Craig Harris



Study Stresses Need For Coordination Between Jobs and Free Time

There are 168 hours in a week. In 1900 the average American worker spent almost a third of that time—53 hours—on the job. By 1970 the average workweek had dropped to less than 40 hours (see charts 1 and 2). Over the past 100 years workers have made a lifetime gain of 50,000 hours free of work, when the increased amount of nonworking time in youth and old age is also taken into account. And, according to *Changing Schedules of Work: Patterns and Implications*,[1] a report produced by the American Institutes for Research (AIR) under contract with the Manpower Administration, radical changes in work and leisure are still to come. In fact, the report says, some of those changes are already upon us, and if society is to avoid traumatic future shock, it must understand the problems which hybrid work schedules and increased leisure time are bringing.

The AIR report draws together the results of a variety of different studies. Self-described as "frankly speculative," it raises more questions than it answers. But that is part of the intention.

"We're not simply talking about the 4-day workweek," says chief researcher Albert S. Glickman. "Work and leisure are part of one life. We're concerned with flexibility within the month, the year, the lifetime—and with all aspects of that lifetime." The report points out the pitfalls of treating leisure time as a separate part of life.

"Today we are being presented with a greater variety of ways to respond to life, in both work and leisure," Glickman says. "We need to improve the net quality of life, and so far we really haven't had much experience in the use of free time."

Traditionally, work schedules have determined the schedule of life's activities. But there is a need to coordinate the two activities, the report contends and to treat both of them as important. Business and government are urged to consider leisure time as an investment in workers and leisure activities as part of the gross national product.

Sweeping changes have taken place in work and leisure patterns during the past few years, the report points out. From 1960 to 1969 the average vacation for full-time workers increased from 1.8 to 2.2 weeks per year. Two-thirds of all workers in the private sector economy now enjoy paid vacations. Looking ahead, the report cites predictions that by 1985 most businesses will cut the workweek to 35 hours, that education for all workers will rise sharply, that the average vacation time will at least double, and that most married women will be in the labor force.

Unanswered Questions

But what will happen in the meantime? How will increased leisure and altered social values be reflected in family life? In labor laws and contracts and trade union philosophy and tactics? In employment stability and mobility? In political orientations, economic theory, and educational philosophy? So far we have few answers.

Society is undergoing not just time and activity change, the report says, but changes in the overall quality of life, and we cannot afford to allow past leisure or work models to stereotype our thinking. Some businesses are trying to make available more usable free time to workers by such innovations as the 4-day week. In many instances, confronted by critical conditions in absenteeism, declining productivity, turnover, work stoppages, and other indications of dissatisfaction, management has hoped to revive motivation by providing more leisure.

However, the report argues that this approach treats only a symptom of what ails the worker. For example, there is the apparent contradiction that most workers still say they would rather have more pay than more time off. The authors point out that changes in schedules alone do not make unpleasant jobs attracitve. They call for experimentation with more imaginative ways of helping people to integrate their work and leisure. The ideal is the rare individual "who is his own tool bag," who finds work to be as enjoyable and creative as leisure—and vice versa.

Many people, even though they may be somewhat dissatisfied with their work, find that their job is "the only interesting and purposeful activity in which they engage," the report points out. Giving them more time off may only increase their frustrations, conflicts, and boredom. More leisure, especially in its present pattern, may not be the answer even for such people. They are likely to continue to be dissatisfied with life and to transfer their discontent from work to home if they do not learn how to make better use of their leisure time.

The report quotes surveys revealing that "the vast majority of employed men say that they would go on working even if they inherited enough money to live comfortably without working." Work itself is not the sole basis of the Judeo-Christian work ethic, the report observes, it is also "being needed, obtaining dignity for oneself by contributing to the general welfare."

Therefore, to avoid leisure-bred dissatisfaction, society must achieve "a creative mixture of work and leisure activities that provides for the individual a more fullfilling way of life." Our traditional approach to leisure is inadequate, Glickman

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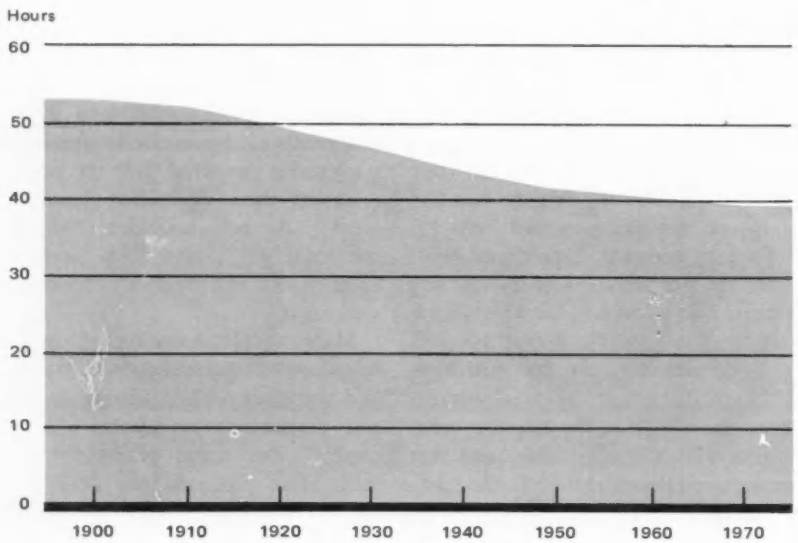
Lillian Harris is a freelance writer.

[1] The report is available from the National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Rd., Springfield, Va., 22151 for $5.45 for a paper copy and $1.45 cents for microfiche (specify accession number PB 219117). Please enclose payment with order.

Work and Leisure

Chart 1

Average Workweek -- 1900 to 1970



Sources: National Bureau of Economic Research
Bureau of Labor Statistics

'In 1900 the average American worker spent almost a third of that time-53 hours-on the job. By 1970 the average workweek had dropped to less than 40 hours.'

says. For instance "many retired people don't know what to do with themselves. After all, how long can you visit the children?"

Thus, the report calls for educational efforts to teach people what to expect from changing work roles and how to get the most out of their leisure time. "A good many people are simply not yet able to visualize constructive uses of free time that would represent meaningful alternatives to paid employment," the report says. While alternatives and options are still open, the report adds, economists, behavioral scientists, and others must tackle the problems of interrelating the world of work and leisure.

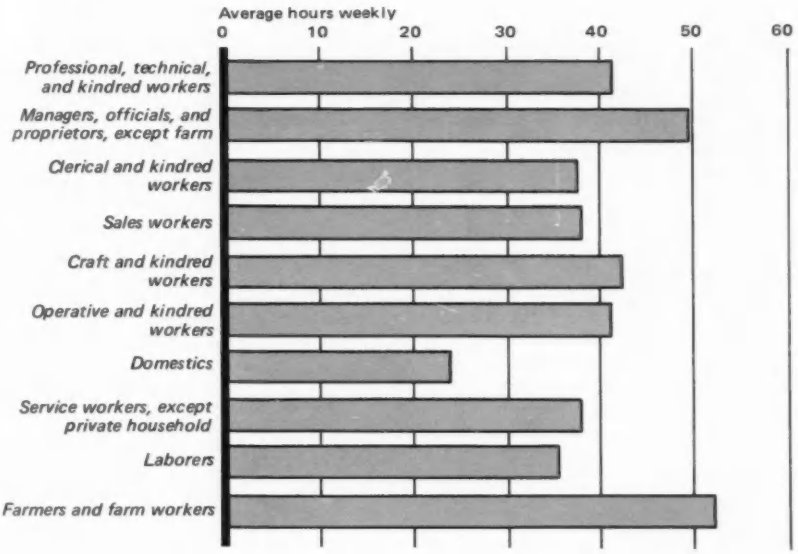
How long the options will be open depends largely on the growth in popularity and acceptance of the various restructured workweeks described in the report. The most common of the variations from the standard 5-day, 40-hour schedule in the United States is the workweek of four 10-hour days, often known as the 4/40. Other approaches also are being tried, among them the workweek of three 12½-hour days used at the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company since May 1970 (employees work 2 days, break for 1 day, then work for 1 day), the 7/70 workweek at the Latter-Day Saints Hospital in Salt Lake City for laboratory employees, who work seven consecutive 10-hour days followed by 7 days off; and the 6-day, 36-hour week (6/36) that has been standard practice at Akron, Ohio rubber plants for more than 30 years.

There are also 4/38, 4/37, 4/36 and, for some, 4/32 workweeks. Other alternatives—some old, some new, but most with new wrinkles—include shift work, staggered working hours (starting and finishing times staggered at half hour or 15 minute intervals to avoid traffic rush hours), and "rational working hours" based on peak monthly or yearly workloads.

Some companies use "variable working hours"—in which an employee decides

Chart 2

Average Workweek by Occupation -- 1965



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.

when to work subject to fulfilling his contractual time and insuring that there is always a "deputy" on hand to carry out his functions during "standard" working hours.

There is also "flexi-time," which has become increasingly popular in Europe. Flexi-time means that within certain designated limits starting and stopping times are flexible for the employee. For example, employees may arrive between 7 a.m. and 9 a.m. and leave between 3:30 p.m. and 5:30 p.m., subject only to putting in a full workweek or work month. In some cases, the lunch hour may carry a 2-hour flexible period.

"Greater flexibility in the use of time, space, equipment, materials, and people opens up the possibility for increased business earnings," the report says. Benefits for labor are predicted as well. Flexible schedules can be designed to allow more married women to enter the labor market, to better fit people's efficiency cycles, to lessen traffic jams, and to provide opportunity for employees to conduct personal business during the week.

Movement toward a 4-day workweek continues steadily. Additional impetus was given in 1971 when Congress put five, 4-day weeks into the calendar permanently by decreeing that five of our legal holidays would always occur on Monday. Management consultant Kenneth G. Wheeler claims that by November 1972 some 2,000 American companies had adopted the 4-day week. However, since most of these are small companies, the number of people affected is still only 1 out of every 840 workers.

Though alternatives to the 5-day week are increasingly the subject of conversation and experimentation, the report cautions that there are both human and legal obstacles to widespread acceptance of variations of the workweek.

Chief among opponents of the 4/40 are many of the leaders of organized labor, who hold that it was "mostly initiated by management in a search for greater productivity and better utilization of manpower and equipment." Says the report, "Generations of struggle by the labor movement have gone into the establishment of the 8-hour day as standard; hence, any tampering with it tends to breed suspicion."

However, while unions have typically viewed the 4/40 critically, with a few notable exceptions most have not concerned themselves with how members use their free time, the report says. But it argues that surveys reveal a growing desire among union members that unions become involved with members' nonwork problems and make an effort to integrate work and leisure benefits. Generally, the report claims, unions may be hoping to hold the line, feeling that the 4/32 week will be here before too long and make the question of a 4/40 week academic.

Other impediments to changes in the workweek are found in both Federal and State laws which require time and a half pay for work in excess of 8 hours a day or 40 hours a week. Under these circumstances, employers hesitate to switch. It would take congressional action to change the Walsh-Healey Act, which limits firms with Federal contracts over

Work and Leisure

$10,000 to 8 hours work in 1 day unless overtime is paid, and the Fair Labor Standards Act, (FLSA) which requires that many types of employees be paid overtime after 40 hours a week. The FLSA, for example, would have to be altered to accommodate flexible schedules that allow employees to work less than 40 hours one week and make up the deficit by working over 40 hours later.

The researchers point out that many work standards upon which these restrictive laws are based were established in the 1940's or earlier and "since then technical advances have made considerably decreasing physical burdens on the worker." The report calls for review of work standards in light of present conditions, including "the mental and emotional consequences" of the 4-day week.

Another barrier to change cited in the report is intergroup dependency in society. No one wants more "leisure" if it means the places he wants to go will be closed when he is free to go there and all his friends will be working then anyway. Businesses also are interdependent. FORBES Magazine, which went to a 4-day workweek in late 1971, had to convert back to a 5-day week in order to synchronize operations with the people and enterprises with which the magazine does business.

Other resistance to changes in schedules comes from older workers who do not know what to do with extra time off. Also, people who don't like their jobs often oppose the idea of 4/40 because a larger dose of work at any one time is an unbearable idea, the report says.

Organizations considering changes in work schedules must study the matter carefully before hand, the researchers warn. Some unsatisfactory experiences with the 4/40 have occurred because management handled the change "primarily as an employee benefit instead of as a rather fundamental redesign of the job and habit patterns of employees."

Before switching, businesses are reminded to determine whether the new scheduling will fit into the larger business system within which they work, whether transportation problems will result, whether worker and supervisor schedules will coordinate, and whether what is announced to be a temporary scheme will be reversable, if necessary, without worker resentment.

Above all, the report states, there has been inadequate study of the 4/40 in its various forms, and many unanswered questions remain relating to areas such as payment for "overtime," the effects of having married couples on different schedules, and what happens when not all a company's employees are on the 4/40.

Preferences May Change

The report cites one consultant's claim that among 100 companies that went on 4/40 productivity rose 5 percent and absenteeism dropped 80 percent. Adoption of the 4/40 by the United Services Automobile Association in San Antonio resulted in a significant reduction in turnover and sick leave. Of 3,000 association employees, 94 percent agreed they like their job more under the 4-day schedule and 93 percent did not find the longer day too fatiguing. But not all studies show undiluted benefits.

Looking ahead, the report sees many interesting possibilities in the labor market. It speculates that as more people attain "a reasonable comfort and security level" the present majority preference for increased income over more leisure may give way to preference for more leisure over greater income.

However, as a result of greatly increased leisure, the "leisure class" may end up low on the social scale. People may vie for the relatively few jobs involving "creative" work which cannot be preprogramed.

Resource pools of the specially skilled is another possibility, with a clearinghouse concept allowing one person to work for a number of firms. A related possibility is a resource pool for matching people's interests, abilities, and available time periods to jobs.

The report suggests that a modular system of breaking the workday into smaller time units assigned to specific tasks could add variety to certain jobs and increase satisfaction for lower level workers by allowing them more of the flexibility professionals enjoy. And "self-renewal" education programs for workers might help counter "stagnation, demoralization, and despair."

On the economic front, a system of "portable pensions" is likely as fewer people spend an entire working lifetime with one employer—and many people never work solely for one employer.

The report urges establishment of a Government organization to coordinate policy and research on work and leisure. Such an organization is needed, the report contends, because the issues involved—economic, population, labor, trade, manpower, education, and others—fall into the domain of a variety of Government and other agencies. Specifically, the report advocates research into how individuals use their time. When this is known, it will be possible to help people "make satisfying choices on an individual basis that still are consonant with the goals and needs of society at large."

"A fundamental challenge exists," the report says, "for a free society to promote the benefits of flexibility while diminishing the spectre of control that complexity induces." Glickman adds that, "This means we need to make changes now to prepare the next generation to live in its world." □

Movie Previews 'Creative' Transition

Training Program Helps Former Airman Launch Civilian Career as a Plasterer

While still in the Air Force, Ronald Bishop saw a movie that changed his life. The movie was about the plastering trade. Bishop, who had been a physical education major in college, liked what he saw and decided to make his living with a trowel instead of teaching athletics when he got out of service.

The movie that led him to make this big decision, Bishop says, was shown by Project Transition at the base where he was stationed. The project is a national effort in which Federal and State agencies, unions, and private business work together to help servicemen move from military life into civilian occupations.

Through Transition, Bishop took 4 months of preapprenticeship training sponsored by the Portland Cement Association and the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' Union. This training pointed him toward a regular apprenticeship in the trade after his discharge.

Now nearing the end of his apprenticeship, Bishop works for a Phoenix plastering contractor. Dennis Hopper, president of this firm, says that Bishop came into the trade with a great advantage. Thanks to the Transition preapprenticeship training, he had already acquired dexterity in handling his tools. As a result, he was able to get a job only 2 weeks after discharge from military service and got a 6-month reduction in the 3-year plasterer apprenticeship.

For a time Bishop did fireproofing on high-rise, steel buildings, but then he asked for and got work in other areas of the trade in order to acquire broad experience, Hopper says. All of the work is in commercial construction, a booming business in Phoenix. Bishop has made good progress, his employer says, and he has a good job future as a plasterer.

Bishop says he made the right decision when he entered Transition's preapprenticeship program and became a plasterer. "This is a very creative trade. I feel good every time I pick up my tools," he reports. Also, he is pleased about earning $7.25 an hour, plus fringe benefits, and the fact that at 26 years of age he has been able to buy a $40,000 house for himself and his wife. □

Marketing Welfare Mothers' Job Skills

by James D. Pembroke

Trained Workers Meet Employers At a Job Fair

The job fair—a device often used to get jobs for veterans—now is being tried as a way to help welfare mothers find work.

Recently, a job fair staged by the District of Columbia Department of Human Resources brought together in a downtown Washington hotel ballroom 19 women on welfare and 18 large employers. One feature of the event was a pamphlet containing resumes of all jobseekers which employers used as a ready reference in interviews. The Schlitz Brewing Company and Mutual of New York sponsored the fair, provided refreshments, and footed all bills.

James Pembroke is a member of the Manpower Administration information office.

Welfare mothers who came to the fair already had followed a rehabilitative pathway laid out for them in the Anacostia Project. This is a demonstration funded for 3 years at $1.3 million by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to test the effectiveness of giving low-income families complete and integrated assistance in place of fragmented services from separate agencies. The project is named for the low-income area of the city where the demonstration is taking place. Similar efforts are underway in more than 20 other cities.

In the Anacostia Project, the women were assigned to teams consisting of a social worker, a

Jobseekers and employer representatives gathered at the opening of the job fair to hear a welcoming address by Walter McArdle, chairman of the Washington Board of Trade.

Paul Mayer, chief of staff employment at the World Bank, had openings for clerk typists, secretaries, file clerks, statistical typists, and keypunch and computer operators.

The Agency for International Development sent Voncile Willingham (right) to the fair to discuss employment opportunities and to help interested applicants with the intricacies of applying for Federal employment.

vocational worker, a counselor, a manpower development specialist, an expediter, and a "broker" to head each team and to oversee individual service plans. If the women needed training to get work, they took courses offered by the Washington Opportunities Industrialization Center, the Work Incentive Program, and the Washington Technical Institute. During their training, day care services and transportation costs were paid by the demonstattion project.

A number of women enrolled in a 9-week crash clerical program run at a public school near their homes from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. daily.

At the job fair, employers were given a list of women who had passed U.S. Civil Service Commission tests for clerk typist and stenographer positions at various ability levels. Most employers were not Federal agencies, but they used this information along with resumes as an indication of each woman's skills.

Of the 19 women at the fair, 10 met employer needs and got jobs at pay ranging from $5,500 to $7,198 a year. Altogether, there are now 113 persons among the 400 in the current phase of the Anacostia Project who have new jobs or who are ready to go to work.

As one device to get jobseekers and employers together, the fair was a success, according to the District's Human Resources Department. Even the women who failed to get jobs learned a lot about the employment process and the job market.

And some of the city's large employers met some of their fellow citizens who are still on welfare but are seeking another way of life. □

Realigning Manpower Responsibilities

Realignment of the Manpower Administration has streamlined the national office and reduced the number of major components from nine to seven. This reorganization reflects the shift of decisionmaking and operating responsibilities for manpower programs to the local level while trimming the national office staff by some 20 percent.

A major change is the elimination of the offices of Manpower Administrator and Deputy Manpower Administrator. The Manpower Administrator's functions have been merged with those of the Assistant Secretary for Manpower.

The new Office of Field Direction and Management (OFDM) combines the staff and line functions formerly held by the Deputy Manpower Administrator and the Office of Field Coordination. This gives the national office a more effective means of directing and coordinating regional operations.

The new Office of Manpower Development Programs (OMDP) consolidates all manpower programs under one executive. It replaces and takes over most of the functions of the Office of Employment Development Programs. It also is responsible for developing community manpower program standards, procedures, and guidelines while overseeing Job Corps and Work Incentive Program operations.

The Office of National Programs (ONP)—an OMDP component—replaces the Office of National Projects Administration and will handle migrant programs transferred from the Office of Economic Opportunity as well as those formerly assigned to the United States Employment Service. ONP also assumes the design function for the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program.

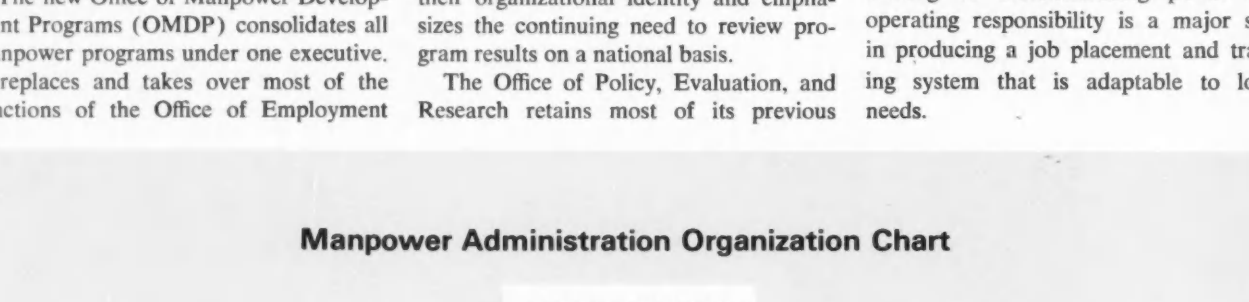
Components with nationwide functions and responsibilities, such as the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT), the United States Employment Service (USES), and the Unemployment Insurance Service (UIS), now report directly to the Assistant Secretary. This retains their organizational identity and emphasizes the continuing need to review program results on a national basis.

The Office of Policy, Evaluation, and Research retains most of its previous assignments and takes over from USES the responsibility for developing, analyzing, and disseminating local and area labor market information. In addition to USES, labor market information is used by UIS and BAT, as well as by other Manpower Administration components. All users of these data can be served more effectively under the new arrangement.

The new Office of Administration and Management combines the functions of the old Office of Management and Administrative Systems and the Office of Financial and Management Information Systems.

With these changes, the Manpower Administration is establishing closer ties through its regional offices with the States and localities while giving them greater autonomy and authority in the day-to-day operation of manpower programs. This shifting of decisionmaking power and operating responsibility is a major step in producing a job placement and training system that is adaptable to local needs. □

Manpower Administration Organization Chart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United States Employment Service
Unemployment Insurance Service
Office of Manpower Development Programs

Book Reviews

Unconventional Wisdom

Unemployment in the Urban Core: An Analysis of Thirty Cities with Policy Recommendations
by Stanley Friedlander
Praeger Publishers, New York, 1972. 276 pages, $16.50.

The study on which this volume is based makes an important contribution to our evolving understanding of how urban labor markets work. But the book itself is rather less successful. In their efforts to simplify the exposition, the editors have eliminated most of the material that would enable a technical reader to evaluate the quality of Friedlander's statistical models—which are the core of the study—and have reduced his very rich variety of findings to a sometimes monotonous collage of summary paragraphs.

What emerges from this attempt to popularize a very specialized subject is a monograph which may be too superficial for most professional readers and too pedantic for laymen. The attempt is especially unfortunate because it is not clear that these findings have been proved to the point that they warrant popularization just yet.

Friedlander studied four population samples drawn from each of 30 large cities in 1959 (based upon the 1960 census) and 1966 (based upon the special Labor Department Urban Employment Survey), supplementing these with census-generated data on employment by industry, and an intriguing set of interviews conducted in Harlem by students from Friedlander's economics classes at the City University of New York. The four samples in each city represented the central city labor force as a whole, central city nonwhites, the entire labor force of the inner city ghettos, and teenage workers living in these ghettos.

The analyses of the central city labor force as a whole reveal a number of surprises. An "unfavorable" industry mix, defined as a structure heavily weighted toward cyclically unstable industries, appeared to correlate highly with unemployment among the 30 cities during recessions (1959), but not during periods of expansion (1966). Under expansionary national fiscal and monetary policy, cities might well be better off with extensive heavy manufacturing and similarly unstable industries, if rapid employment growth is the objective.

Variations among cities in the rate at which jobs are moving to the suburbs were found to be statistically unrelated to central city unemployment rates, the conventional wisdom of urban economics notwithstanding.

High-wage cities tended to display higher unemployment rates, but this may be because high-wage "primary labor market" jobs and low-wage, unstable "secondary labor market" jobs tend to locate in the same urban areas, although not in the same neighborhoods. Friedlander found no evidence that minimum wages have any disemployment effect on the overall urban labor force.

Friedlander questions the hypothesis that unemployment in the urban core is explained by the fact that the resident labor force lacks the educational and skill qualifications required by employers. He reports that there was no statistically significant relationship between the "education gap" and the unemployment rate among cities in 1966. And in 1959, a small education gap seemed to go hand-in-hand with *high* unemployment! Friedlander's rationalization of this finding is ingenious. During recessions, he reasons, well-educated workers are reluctant to take lower status jobs and can generally afford to indulge this reluctance. Cities with large numbers of such workers will thus display a small education gap but high unemployment.

Friendlander's analysis of the relationship between welfare and unemployment is the major contribution of his study. According to the conventional wisdom, increased welfare rates imply a reduction in labor force participation and therefore a reduction in unemployment rates. In other words, those on welfare do not search for jobs. Some of us have argued for a long time—on precious little evidence—that work and welfare are not mutually exclusive, that many people move back and forth between welfare and work, or even engage in both simultaneously. Friedlander's findings support this view. Welfare and unemployment were unrelated in 1959. In 1966, the larger the welfare rate, the higher the unemployment rate. This indicates that welfare recipients were seeking jobs and thus were included in the labor force and counted as unemployed.

In examining unemployment rates for nonwhites only, Friedlander again found no statistically significant indication that being on welfare influenced the recipients to drop out of the labor market. However—and this is probably the other really important new discovery of the Friedlander project—unemployment and an index of property crimes, which are committed disproportionately by nonwhites, were strongly correlated in a way that probably will prove surprising to many people.

"The more property crimes in a city," Friedlander says, "the lower the unemployment rate for nonwhites in both time periods. People engaged in crime and people supported by criminal activity had means of support that allowed them not to work and not to be counted in the labor force." These findings on the welfare-crime-unemployment relationship are terribly preliminary, but Friedlander unquestionably has broken new and very important ground here.

The kind of jobs available "had more impact on slum unemployment rates, particularly for 1966, than any other factor," Friedlander points out. "In 1966, the industrial mix . . . explained 82 percent of the variation in slum unemployment rates." This supports the argument of dual labor market and "radical" economists that the structure of the demand for labor is far more important than the personal attributes and skills of workers in explaining unemployment and poverty among the poor.

Friedlander concludes the book with a recommended policy menu that follows directly from his conviction that the evidence points to a structuralist explanation of urban unemployment. Expansionary fiscal and monetary policies are the first course. He then advocates:

- Expanded public service employment, on the grounds that demand creation in general is called for and that the data show that nonwhites already fare considerably better in public than in private sector jobs.
- Improved inner-city education, although this does not strictly follow from the findings of the study.
- Reconstruction of manpower programs, emphasizing the forging of stronger linkages between training, job placement, and job promotion—especially the placement of secondary labor market workers into primary labor market jobs.
- Stricter enforcement of equal employment antidiscrimination programs, given the finding that nonwhites suffer disproportionate unemployment in urban labor markets.

In spite of its several unresolved technical problems (especially the admittedly high intercorrelation among several of the variables in the multiple correlations), and the failure of the editors to settle clearly on a target audience, *Unemployment in the Urban Core* is an important addition to the growing library of quantitative studies of urban labor markets. It certainly lends further support to the dual labor market theory which places the greatest weight on industrial structure and nontechnological barriers to mobility as the causes of urban poverty and unemployment.

Bennett Harrison

Bennett Harrison is associate professor of economics and urban studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Publications

Following is a selected list of publications on manpower and related matters. Single copies of Manpower Administration publications for which no price is indicated can be obtained free by writing or telephoning the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210. Requests for free publications of the Bureau of Labor Statistics should be sent directly to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20212. Please enclose a self-addressed label with all requests for free publications. For publications not available free, write the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, and enclose payment.

Productive Employment of the Disadvantaged: Guidelines for Action

Labor Department operating manual summarizes significant information acquired by employers who have hired the disadvantaged through the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program or through their own independent programs. Case histories show successes and failures and reasons for both. Discusses problems encountered in hiring and training hard-to-employ persons and suggests possible solutions.

Coverage and Vesting of Full-Time Employees Under Private Retirement Plans

Report based on April 1972 survey by Bureau of the Census under contract to Departments of Treasury; Labor; and Health, Education, and Welfare. Provides information on characteristics of (1) workers covered by private retirement plans (private pension plans and deferred profit-sharing plans) and those not covered, and (2) workers with vested or nonforfeitable rights to retirement benefits and those without such rights. Data show how workers are actually affected by participation, vesting, and retirement requirements, and by their movement into and out of jobs covered by such plans. Specify BLS Report No. 423.

Occupations in Library Science

Manpower Administration brochure contains significant, up-to-date information reflecting the rapid developments which have taken place in the field of library science since 1966 when "Occupations in the Field of Library Science" was published. Includes revised occupational and training requirements and an overview of the directions career opportunities in library science are taking. Should be useful to counselors and placement personnel in U.S. Employment Service, local library systems, library associations, high schools, colleges, and graduate schools, and in counseling, job guidance, and personnel activities. 65 cents.

Index to Publications of the Manpower Administration—January 1969 Through June 1973

Manpower Administration cumulative index of publications covering January 1969 through June 1973, includes about 850 publications, reports, and articles under 54 subject headings. Should be helpful to newsmen, employers, jobseekers, college professors, students, and others interested in manpower matters.

National Apprenticeship and Training Standards for Orthotic and Prosthetic Technicians

Manpower Administration booklet sets forth the national apprenticeship and training standards for the 1-year apprenticeship program for orthotic and prosthetic technicians. Its purpose is to improve the quality of and opportunity for training for such technicians through establishment of uniform, supervised, on-the-job training programs.

WIN/PSE Creating Jobs in the Public Service

Manpower Administration pamphlet explains the Work Incentive (WIN) Program public service employment (PSE) plan to help people on Aid to Families with Dependent Children get jobs in public service that will lead to regular employment.

Comparison of State Unemployment Insurance Laws Revision No. 3

Manpower Administration loose-leaf pages of the third of a semi-annual series of revisions reflect changes in State laws effective since publication of the January 1973 revision and include technical modifications in existing text and tables. $1.80.

A Model for Training the Disadvantaged: TAT at Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Manpower Administration report describes the Training and Technology (TAT) Program, an industry-government training partnership which has been conducted since 1966 at the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's Oak Ridge Y-12 plant. In the program, craftsmen train mostly young, disadvantaged persons in a setting similar to "real-life" working conditions in a factory. Specify Manpower Research Monograph No. 29. 85 cents.

Baker's Dozen

Abstracts of 13 doctoral dissertations selected from among nearly 75 completed during fiscal years 1970 and 1971 under doctoral dissertation research grants from the Manpower Administration. Specify Manpower Research Monograph No. 27. $1.35.

Research on Nurse Staffing in Hospitals: Report of the Conference

Reports on a conference designed to bring together and summarize the latest research findings on nurse staffing in hospitals. Presents 10 research papers analyzing factors affecting demand for nurse staffing, including such concerns as patients' needs, administrative costs, evaluation of nursing care, systems for computerizing patient information, and the effect of hospital design. Conference participants represented nursing, computer research, industrial technology, and the behavioral sciences. $2.35.

Census Employment Survey User's Guide

Bureau of Labor Statistics report gives technical assistance to local area officials, manpower planners, labor market analysts, and other interested persons and groups in understanding and use of data from the Census Employment Survey (CES). The CES was conducted by the Bureau of the Census to provide detailed social and economic data on persons residing in 68 low-income areas in the U.S. Specify BLS Report 420.

Employment of Scientists and Engineers—1950-70

Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin presents comprehensive data on employment of scientists and engineers from 1950 to 1970 and includes estimates of each major scientific occupational group in all sectors of the economy. Also presents estimates for scientists and engineers primarily engaged in research and development. Specify BLS Bulletin 1781. $1.25.

Major Programs 1973, Bureau of Labor Statistics

Presents in highly concentrated form the scope of the principal programs in which the offices of the Bureau of Labor Statistics are engaged. Selected major characteristics of more than 40 programs are grouped into related subject-matter areas. Gives frequency with which data are made available, principal publications in which they appear, and some of the principal uses of the data. A brief narrative accompanies each major subject-matter grouping.

Research in Nursing: 1969-1972 Research Grants

Lists and briefly describes research projects funded by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from 1969 through 1972 and supplements similar publication for 1955-1968. Should be helpful in charting the course for future scientific investigations to improve nursing care of patients. 35 cents.

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1973: 543-615/5

manpower – word of many meanings

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